FELLOWSHIP

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By WALLACE HAMILTON

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

TO THE pacifist, as to many another citizen, for that matter, nothing is more irritating and ironic than the contrast between the way in which we can get things done in wartime and the way in which these same things drag in peacetime. Is social action possible only for a people under arms?

I.

Take the matter of housing, for example! The need is urgent, almost a matter of life and death, to say nothing of health, happiness, and peace of mind. Millions of our GIs are without homes. Married, many of them with young families, they are scattered all over the landscape: some of them living, in hazard of all outward comfort and inward temper, in single rooms or shacks, others divided up among parents-in-law, relatives, and even friends. Nor is it war veterans alone who are affected! Multitudes of people, older as well as younger, have no fit habitations, and in many cases no habitations at all. They are just crammed in at any place where they can find temporary shelter. And in the meantime the divorce rate goes sensationally up, juvenile delinquency shows a terrifying increase, and crime and general social disorder are everywhere prevalent. What we need at once is homes, and more homes. Production in this field should be at the peak, yet apparently there is no production at all, or at least none to make a real dent on the present deplorable situation. It was not always so!

When World War II came along, we proceeded to mobilize a great conscript army. This meant barracks for millions of men, and houses for officers, and storehouses, and kitchens, and recreation halls. In addition, we undertook to become a great production center for the Allies. This country was to be the "arsenal of democracy." This meant the building of enormous factories, the erection of whole new manufactories, and sometimes of whole villages and towns for the workers. Was all this done? It was! We lost not an instant of time, nor an ounce of effort. Construction work on a vast scale was rushed to completion. Machines had plants and operatives had homes. Yet now that the war is over and housing is as imperative as ever, it seems wellnigh impossible to find a board or drive a nail.

II.

Or take the matter of money! In peacetime there is never sufficient money for anything. We can't have decent subways because we have no money. We can't pay our school teachers a living wage because there is no money. We can't extend our parks, or provide playgrounds for our children, or erect new hospitals, or improve our library service because money is so inadequate to public need. A hundred great social benefits are delayed, or never achieved at all for lack of funds. Yet if war suddenly broke out tomorrow morning, there would be floods of money to float the war-machine.

I remember how, at the opening of the first World War, a distinguished statesman told me that it couldn't last three months. "Why," he said, "there isn't money enough in the world to keep it going." Yet there was money enough to keep it going for four years. And when the second war came along, there was money enough to keep its stupendously expensive operations under way for six years. Billions for war, but not one cent for peace!

III.

The case of the atomic bomb, as Sherlock Holmes would put it, is the perfect illustration of this ironic circumstance which I am discussing. When the government made up its mind to split the atom for war purposes, it moved with single-minded resolution and expedition. It appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars. It mobilized scientists from all parts of the country. It built plants and towns as though by the rubbing of an Aladdin's lamp. There was no limit of time, strength, money, learning, and heroic endeavor consecrated to this one end of the production of the bomb. And in due course Hiroshima was wiped out!

IV

But now suppose that this problem of atomic fission had been hitched up not with a war aim but with a peace aim. Suppose that the objective had been not the annihilation of Japan but the cure of cancer. Would any such supreme effort have been dedicated to its accomplishment? As a matter of fact, we are already struggling to find the secret of this dread scourge of human flesh. We recognize that cancer is an enemy that brings misery and death into the lives of myriads of human beings. But are we doing anything to conquer it comparable with what we did to produce the atomic bomb? A concerted effort, backed by unlimited funds, might bring results in as short a time in the former case as in the latter. But cancer research is left to such desultory if devoted zeal as may be sustained by private initiative and devotion. How many vital things might be accomplished with a hundredth part of the effort that was expended at Oak Ridge and Bikini!

V

Here is a situation to break the heart: our failure to mobilize for peace what we are so easily able to mobilize for war. In this may lie a basic reason for our failure to get rid of war. For war grows out of peace —out of those evils of neglect, injustice and festering wrong which might be triumphantly removed if we made half the effort we make to win a battle or "blitz" a town. Our real problem, after all, is not war but peace. Once we are ready to sacrifice everything for peace as well as war, we shall have peace that will endure.

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FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Instructions for Objective Study—Presidential Division

When President Truman appointed his nine-man committee to "study" the question of Universal Military Training, reports Leonard Lyons in the *New York Post*, he told the members that UMT is a pet project of his. "As a matter of fact," Lyons quotes the President as saying, "if you succeed in this it will mean the fulfillment of a dream I've had for 35 years."

Soft

A man who just returned from a visit to Germany—a man of prominence in religious circles—complains of the "softness" with which the defeated Germans are being treated. The Germans are still unreformed and unrepentant, he says. They "continually let slip anti-Semitic remarks and refer to Jews with an inevitable air of contempt." To eradicate this, urges this prominent person, America must cease being "soft," and treat the Germans with "consistently correct severity."

Now this introduces a paradox. An Episcopal church worker the other day mentioned her refusal to use a certain shopping area because "the Jews shop there." A Baptist minister said of money-making, "We ought to do it the way the Jews do." And a great many Americans, including thousands of what we used to call "professing Christians," exhibit an anti-Semitism that finds expression in ways ranging from snide little jokes to defacing synagogues. Looking at it objectively, one is almost inclined to wonder if America really is the right Magistrate to burn this particular witch.

Dialog

(Based on a statement by American Legion Commander Paul Griffith that "foreign ism is creeping into every phase of American life." *Characters:* IMMIGRANT and INSPECTOR; *Place:* the Immigration Office of any American port; *Time:* any.)

INSPECTOR: Last name?

IMMIGRANT: Ism.

INSPECTOR (sharply): Foreign?

IMMIGRANT: We-ell, yes, in a way.

INSPECTOR: We're supposed to keep out you Isms. Your first name Commun?

IMMIGRANT: No.

INSPECTOR: You related to Commun?

IMMIGRANT: In a way. (Hangs head.) You see, sir, my paternity is in doubt.

INSPECTOR: I don't get you!

IMMIGRANT: There are a lot of us Isms, and nobody's sure which was my father. Some say Commun; some say Fasc. I've worked for both of them.

INSPECTOR: We don't want any relatives of either of *them* in this country.

IMMIGRANT: Oh, but I'm also related to a very respectable American. I've worked for him too. Name of Capital.

INSPECTOR (scratching head): Well, I don't know. Mr. Griffith and the Legion distinctly said no foreign Isms.

IMMIGRANT (brightening): Mr. Griffith? But he sent for me. He said I'd get a warm welcome here.

INSPECTOR: Well, in that case——! You have any letters from Mr. Griffith?

IMMIGRANT: Yes, sir, three of them. U-M-T.

INSPECTOR (warmly): Oh, sure, I know you now. You're Mr. Griffith's old friend——

IMMIGRANT: That's right. I'm Militar.

Fifth Column

You do have to be awfully careful these days not to be taken in by un-American, subversive influences. They're so dreadfully smooth: you find yourself supporting something that seems perfectly all right, and suddenly there you are—tearing down the whole American Way of Life!

We would never have thought, for instance, that an active dislike of certain common radio practices, even when carried to the point of complaining to the Federal Communications Commission, could actually be called subversive, but that just shows how careful one has to be. For no less an authority than Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, says that is the case. After telling the American Legion convention last Fall about some of the insidious "enemies of America" who are trying to tear down our free institutions, Mr. Miller came right down to cases. Said he:

"It behooves us to remember, therefore, that when we casually or in irritation criticize the 'singing commer-

cials,' the 'soap operas,' or other features of radio broadcasting, and suggest that 'the government' should prevent and correct such practices, we are playing into the hands of those whom I have described. . . ."

Just to be on the safe side, maybe we better urge the broadcasters to have *more* singing commercials and soap operas, hey?

Straws in a Foolish Wind

In January the Navy began towing some of the ships used in the A-bomb test last July across the Pacific to California. It was a peculiarly hazardous occupation, because the ships are still "too hot," radioactively speaking, for men to live on them.

* * *

The chief Washington lobbyist for the National Association of Manufacturers gets $28,000 salary plus expenses. His assistant gets $18,000.

In testimony before a Senate committee, a witness cited as an indication of communism within TVA the fact that an employee had been seen distributing reviews of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath.*

* * *

An Associated Press dispatch discloses that the Army is in a race "to be first with an ocean-spanning guided missile." It will accordingly devote this year to putting "radio reins" on the giant V-2 rocket (whose use by Germany was variously labelled as "bestial," "inhuman," and "uncivilized").

* * *

The major contribution of a recent book on atomic warfare, points out a reviewer, is his conclusions about the "relative unimportance of civilian populations. . . ."

* * *

And General MacArthur announces that the Christian faith "steeled the arm and steadied the aim as our invincible armies stormed their way . . . to the heart of the Japanese empire."

I Also Repent!

By FREDERICK K. STAMM*

ABOUT THE TIME we were entering the war I said that if we could see the horror and the bloodshed, visualize what it means for people to be bombed out of houses and caused to wander aimlessly about, seeking food and shelter, and finding none—in short, how devastating war is to the physical, mental and spiritual life of the common people—we would have found another way out.

Since then I have read "The Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith," by twenty-six of America's outstanding scholars. I have no disposition to take it apart. No doubt it is about as good a statement as could be gotten. But as I read it two wonders grew in my little mind. I wondered, first, why it should take such a lengthy theological document to set forth the relation of the Church to war. It took Jesus a much shorter time to declare the purpose of his being in the world.

And I wondered what all this had to do with the "little people" of the warring world. Ministers will read it, and some laymen, too, and get a good deal of intellectual training thereby, but the "little people" will find no clear word said as to what the Church will do if another war looms on the horizon in the future.

One day, during the war, I went to a home where word had come to a young wife with a twenty-months old baby that her young husband had been killed in the South Pacific. The foster mother of the young man was there also. She had taken him out of the arms of his dead mother when he was three weeks old and reared him as her own. They were not bitter, but they were sad, and the mother said, "What is it all about?"

Those women belong to the "little people," who hardly know the meaning of the word "theology," but who belong to our churches. They represent the rank and file of the Church. They furnish the sinews of war. And I thought as I sat there, saying a stuttering word of comfort, "Suppose I put this document of 'The Relation of the Church to the War' into your hands. It is the voice of the Church. Read it and be comforted. It tells you all you need to know as to why he was killed."

A "Sure Word of Hope"

I belong to the Church. I want, with my brethren, to speak a sure word of hope to the "little people." Instead I have hesitated to be forthright in my utterances because I feared to set myself up as "holier-than-thou."

I have read of the suffering of my unknown brethren in other countries. I am not worthy to stoop down and loose their shoe latchets. True, I did what I thought was enough to keep us out of the war. I have never believed that the United States had any right to be in the last war.

Still, I repent. I am glad that I have never been read out of the fellowship of the Christian Church because of my position. I am sorry, however, that in church councils I did not lift up a clarion voice against war. I am sorry that I cannot say to the "little people," that *my* Church did remain true to the redemptive love of God. For what the leaders of the Church and education said would happen if we went into the war, has not happened, and is not going to happen.

They said we could not feed the hungry and clothe the naked children of Europe because the food and clothing would fall into the hands of the Nazis and the war effort would be impeded. I shall never forget the meeting that was held in the Roosevelt Hotel in New York on this matter. I was there and listened and did not open my mouth. Maybe I was too stunned at what I heard.

I suspect, however, that I was too cowardly, too afraid

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* FREDERICK K. STAMM is minister of the First Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill. His article is reprinted by permission from *The Progressive*, Dec. 9, 1946.

of being called a sentimentalist, or a pro-Nazi, or something equally vile. The only comfort I can get out of it is that while I was there I said nothing against feeding. My heart and mind rebelled, but I just sat and kept quiet and wondered. But ever since I have thought of what Jesus might have said had he been sitting in my chair.

About the only ones who said anything were those at the head table, and they all seemed to be against the feeding. Since that time some of those at the head table have said that they were never against the feeding, but that England would not consent to the plan. The British Government determined the ethics of the Church in America!

I shall never forget the word that was spoken by one churchman: "Let this little Quaker group do what little feeding it can, but we as a Church can have nothing to do with it." Yes, I sat still and said nothing. I was a bit pricked in my conscience when I left that dining-room where we were well fed, and found myself saying, "Is it possible that we have come to the place where we cannot obey the simple injunction of Jesus to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, all because a war must go on?"

The gospel is all of one piece and says the same thing when there is danger as it does when there is no danger.

I repent because the Church has believed that Jesus is right in peacetime, but has followed its own "little theology" in wartime.

War Does Not Breed Peace

Look at another thing they said: "We'll fight the war, we'll get rid of the menace, and then we'll make a just and lasting peace." I dislike to say "I told you so." But I could see no real peace as a result of global war, and now one needs only to listen to the dire fears expressed by those who said, "This war is different. This time we shall build a just and Christian and lasting peace."

My soul, how I wish that would be true! It would be a comparatively easy way to make over the world even though it cost lives. I would give my life any time for that. I think my wife and my three children would throw their arms about me, and send me off to war with rejoicing such as they never expressed before, if peace could be had that way. I would stand in my pulpit every Sunday morning and tell my people, "At last we have found the way to peace and world fellowship. Go out, all of you, and give your lives. Kill as many as you can of the enemy, drive this tyranny from the earth. It's a cheap but sure way to bring in the Kingdom of God. At last, at last, we have found the way."

But before I could do that, I would have to throw out the Communion Table, and the Cross, and the Gospels, and the great hymns. For all these speak another language. They tell me that you do not overthrow tyranny in that fashion. They tell me that you do not purchase a civilization of human brotherhood by means of war. Jesus did not wait till the Roman yoke was off the neck of the Jews before he came to earth. It was the upthrust of something within him that made the crooked places straight and the rough places plain. Whatever was tyrannous was set aside, not by taking up arms against it, but by the display of a spirit that had truth as its sword and righteousness as its breastplate.

I heard a minister deploring the fact that there is so much hatred against Germany, and that at an open meeting a speaker was roundly applauded when he said that Germany should be dismembered and destroyed. But that same minister was one who believed that you can fight a war without hate. Perhaps, but with an army of radio commentators spitting out their propaganda, what other than hate and revenge can result? Wars are fought on the basis of lies, and back of the lies is the ideology furnished by the clergy. Paul stated the principle long ago when he said, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." If the Church isn't going to stand by its gospel, what other than a harvest of hate and revenge shall we reap?

Peace Demands Repentance

A peace can be made, but only on condition that we stop justifying our position and repent. Oscar Wilde said the finest thing a man ever does is when he kneels in the dust, beats upon his breast, and tells God all he knows. It is this that dignifies a man in God's sight, and it is this that would dignify the Church and give it an impetus it does not now enjoy.

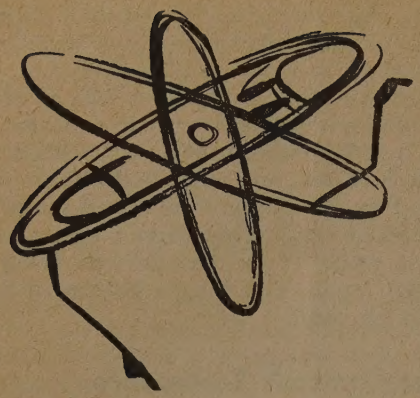
The Church won't die. Any institution has a way of living on. But repentance can give it a new lift and set it at the center of the world's life. If the Church would, in these bitter times, refuse for just once to take its lead from those who make war, and say unequivocally, "We know now what starts wars, and we are going back to our starting point at Calvary. Furnish your own ideology from this point on; we'll stick to the realism of Jesus of Nazareth." If we would do that, not after a war, but when war looms, we would make diplomats and power politicians tremble in their boots!

Last Winter I read for the first time the six volumes on Abraham Lincoln by Carl Sandburg. Once again I was forced to the conclusion that most of the theological professors could sit at the feet of Lincoln and learn of him. Not once or twice did Lincoln seek to bring the Civil War to a close. So ardent was he in this direction that members of Congress accused him of being a traitor to his country.

Lincoln was not a churchman, but as late as January, 1865, he drew up a plan for stopping the war, and believed it would finally succeed. If it could get the sanction of the Cabinet, he would send it to Congress. So one day he read it to the members of the Cabinet. He proposed that Congress should appropriate the sum of $300,000,000, pay for the damage to the South, and set about the task of rehabilitation. For he thought if the war should last three months longer it would cost more than that amount, to say nothing of the loss of many more young lives and the devastation of property. He was in high glee over the proposal, but not a single favorable vote did he get. Sandburg makes this sad commentary, "The eight members of the Cabinet were all churchmen."

If I am a bit critical it is because I feel so strongly that the Church needs to stop its rationalizing about war and see it for what it is—a bloated abortion with dollar marks on its flanks, dragging its gross belly across the face of the land, rending and spoiling all it does not devour. The spirit of Christ must triumph if once the church leaders give it a chance to triumph.

The "little people" are ready to strike at the causes of war and build a just and lasting peace. What about the "big people"? Have they the courage and the vision? Time is running against them. They must act.



THE BRASSHAT AND THE ATOM*

By ALFRED HASSLER

Illustrated by Ed Nofziger

ATOM: You! A word with you, if you please!

BRASSHAT: Oh, it's you again! Why don't you go away? You confuse me.

ATOM: New things always did confuse you, Brasshat. You're in a perpetual rut! You tossed Billy Mitchell on the scrapheap because he tried to tell you about airpower, and now you're trying hard to make believe *I'm* not real.

BRASSHAT: Maybe you're real, but I think you're exaggerated. Why did you stop me?

ATOM: I want to ask you a few questions. They tell me you're pushing for peacetime military conscription.

BRASSHAT: Ssh! Not *military!* Don't use that word! And not conscription, either. It's universal training, that's all![1]

ATOM: It's directed by military men—Army officers—isn't it?

BRASSHAT: Yes, but . . .

ATOM: And the training is for war—right? You'll teach the boys drill, and rifle practice, and bayonet, and so on?[2]

BRASSHAT: Yes, but . . .

ATOM: And the boys have to go whether they want to or not, don't they?[3]

BRASSHAT: We-ell . . .

ATOM: Then it's military conscription, and we can forget the double talk. . . . Now what I want to know is: Why?

BRASSHAT: Like I said before, it's good for the boys. Teaches them democracy; makes them healthy——[4]

ATOM: Look, Brasshat, you're not making a speech; you're talking to me! Forget that stuff. You know perfectly well that regimentation and learning to obey orders without question is the reverse of democracy, to say nothing of the officer caste-system and the Jim Crowism in the Army. As for health, the money that your conscription will cost could build thousands of hospitals and clinics all over the country. Anyway, you know as well as I that neither the American people nor Congress would give you peacetime conscription on that kind of argument. Now, what's your *real* reason for aping the dictators?

BRASSHAT: Defense, of course.

ATOM: Defense? Against what?

BRASSHAT: Aggression. Aggressor nations. Against anything or anybody who tries to attack us.

ATOM: I see. I thought we were trying to get rid of war.

BRASSHAT: Sure, sure. But until we're certain that war's been banished—

There is no defense

ATOM: Prepare for it, eh?

BRASSHAT: That's it.

ATOM: Brasshat, didn't you ever hear me say there is no defense?[5]

BRASSHAT: No defense? What are you talking about? There's always been defense!

ATOM: Has there? What was the defense of Hiroshima? Or Nagasaki?

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* One of a series of pamphlets prepared for the National Council Against Conscription.

1 "I don't like to think of it as a universal military training program. I want it to be a universal training program, giving our young people a background in the disciplinary approach to getting along with one another. . . . "—President Truman.

2 There will be no place in a sound universal military-training program for activities that are nonessential to the task of preparing our young men for combat."—War Department circular.

3 "There will be no exemptions from training, except for personnel who are unfit for military training and those men who are serving or have served honorably in the Armed Forces for an adequate period of time."—*A Plan for Universal Military Training*, War Department pamphlet.

4 "Young men from our cities and industrial centers would live together with those from farm, forest and plain. Sectional prejudices and misunderstandings would be replaced by the spirit of tolerance and mutual respect that is the essence of our democracy." Secretary of War Robert Patterson, November 8, 1945. "The physical well-being of all trainees would be improved. . . ." *A Plan for Universal Military Training*, War Department pamphlet.

5 "There is no military defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected."—Statement by Drs. Einstein, Urey, Szilard, Bethe and five other atomic scientists, *New York Times*.

BRASSHAT: They were different.

ATOM: What defense did England ever figure out against the V-2 rockets?[6] And even the V-1s would have wiped out London if they'd had atomic warheads.[7]

BRASSHAT: But we hit the Germans back!

ATOM: So you did—. Well, let's see what your defense consists of. How many men do you plan to train in this program of yours?

BRASSHAT: About a million a year.

ATOM: And each man gets how much training?

BRASSHAT: Six months in camp, and the equivalent of six months more in the National Guard, ROTC, or by enlistment in the Regular Army.

ATOM: The next war—if there is a next war—will be fought by trained technicians.[8] Do you figure to make trained technicians in that time?[9]

BRASSHAT: We'll need mass armies, too.

ATOM: Not according to your own experts.[10]

BRASSHAT: I won't listen to that kind of talk. It's subversive!

ATOM: You insist we must build up a big reserve?

BRASSHAT: That's it!

ATOM: If war came, how long would it take you to mobilize that reserve?

BRASSHAT: About a year.[11]

ATOM: You'd still have to give the men more training before they'd be ready to fight, wouldn't you?

BRASSHAT: Yes.[12]

ATOM: You admit that if there is a next war it will be an atomic war, don't you?

BRASSHAT: I suppose so.

ATOM: Brasshat, if we were attacked by atom-bombs, in say five years from now, every city on the East Coast could be demolished in one night, and forty million people killed.[13] What good will your trained reserve be then?

BRASSHAT: We'd still have to fight back.

ATOM: A year later? After more atom-bombs had destroyed every factory, every railroad line, in the country? After maybe half the population of the country had been killed?

BRASSHAT: They won't vanquish us, anyway. We'll have our installations in caves in the mountains. We can strike back as soon as they attack us.[14]

ATOM: That'll be fine! The forty million dead Americans will be very glad to know that forty million dead Russians or somebody will join them wherever they're going!

BRASSHAT: You've got a good point there. *I* think we ought to be ready to strike first![15]

ATOM: You mean we should be the aggressor?

"The war'll be over, poof! like that!"

BRASSHAT: No, no! It would be defense. Only when we see that somebody looks like attacking us, we hit them first. And we win, poof! like that!

ATOM: So you do admit that the war'll be over "Poof, like that!" eh?

BRASSHAT: We-ell . . .

ATOM: Don't apologize! For once you're right. That atomic war will probably last only weeks.[16] And what sense does that make of your conscription program?

BRASSHAT: Oh, that? We need that for defense.

ATOM: Look, Brasshat, I know it's hard for you to grasp a new idea, but listen to me, please! *There is no defense!* There isn't any question any more about who wins and who loses. An atomic war would end civilization. We'll be lucky if it doesn't end human existence as well. So we *can't* have war . . . not at all, ever again. What does that suggest to you?

BRASSHAT: That we ought to arm to defend ourselves?

ATOM: No! No! *No!!* It means we have to get rid of war. We have to find a way of living together in peace. We have to disarm; we have to start thinking *fast* in just the opposite way to your thinking. Get it?

BRASSHAT: Sir, nobody hates war more than an old soldier. . . .

ATOM: Do you mean an old soldier who got a leg shot off on the battlefield, or an old soldier who has a fat job behind a desk?

BRASSHAT: . . . nevertheless, we must prepare ourselves for any eventuality, and that means peacetime universal military training.

ATOM: No! It means ending militarism and imperialism. It means world organization. It means making democracy work, here and everywhere else. It means everything *but* getting ready for another war. Conscription for military training would simply help make the country's young people militaristic and nationalistic; it would mean a lot of jobs for overpaid brasshats and profits for munitions makers; it would mean creating tension and suspicion in other nations; it would mean an armament race and, eventually, war. Can't you see that, Brasshat?

BRASSHAT: Sir, you're a subversive influence!

ATOM: Sir, you're an animated fossil!

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6 "The German V-2 rockets, which bombarded London, could not be intercepted by any means now known."—Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times* military analyst.

7 "Anti-aircraft defense guided by radar eventually reached such efficiency that 80 to 90 percent of the V-1s aimed at the London area were shot down. But if the remaining 10 to 20 percent had carried atomic warheads there would be no London today."—W. A. Higginbotham, *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1946.

8 "The atomic bomb . . . appears to have invalidated, technologically, the concept of peacetime conscription and mass armies, of giant warships and tremendous bombers. . . . 'Push-button' war, using missiles of tremendous range and terrible destructive power, seems slated for the primary role." Hanson Baldwin, *Life*, Aug. 20, 1946.

9 "It takes 12 months alone to teach men to operate modern weapons." Gen. Claire C. Chennault, Washington *Post*, Oct. 29, 1945.

10 "Another war, however distant in the future, would probably be decided by some form of air power before the surface powers were able to make contact with the enemy in major battles. That is the supreme military lesson of our period in history." Gen. Carl Spaatz, AAF, in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1946.

11 Final report of Gen. Marshall, as retiring wartime Chief of Staff.

12 "Physical training will always have to be repeated after the war starts. . . ." Gen. Eisenhower to House Committee on Post-war Military Policy, June, 1945.

13 Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, October, 1945.

14 "The Army and Navy are planning for a network of underground military and industrial installations in the event of another war." UP dispatch in *New York Times*, April 29, 1946.

15 "General (Ira C.) Eaker (Deputy Commander of Army Air Forces) predicted that the next war would be a short war of unparalleled destruction, that the first blows would be struck through the air, and that to prevent destruction of this country in event of such an attack we must strike the enemy first."—*New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1946.

16 "Victory for an aggressor nation can be assured in a few terrible hours in an atom war of the future."—Dr. Morris Perlman, *Washington Times-Herald*, Oct. 28, 1945.
"The next war probably will not last six months."—Admiral Halsey, UP dispatch from St. Louis, Oct. 29, 1945. Also see Eaker quotation above.

This is the black and bloody story of what the victors of World War II are doing to the vanquished. It is a story that reeks with shame for the American people, whose representatives inflict such torture on helpless human beings; a story that has been kept from the knowledge of the ordinary American and British and Russian and French people. It is easy enough to whip up anti-Russian sentiment to hide our own miserable betrayal of principle, but until we are free to change our own policies, and until that change has been effected, we become only the greater hypocrites.

These Are the Vanquished

By ALBION BEVERAGE*

GERMANY IS CAUGHT in a downward spiral of suffering, starvation and frustration that is deepening a grave for the whole of Europe. Europe is dying, and a continuation of our past policies will only hasten her demise. There is no Germany left; nothing but five new imperial possessions remains in the heart of Europe.

The great powers now are confronted with the economic consequences of their own suspicion, greed and folly. Russia is not able to maintain even a minimum standard of living in eastern Germany or among the people caught in the satellite states in Eastern Europe. From Finland to Greece all the old standards, poor and miserable as they might have been, have been swept away. Russia is trying to wheedle from the United States and Great Britain some form of economic concession or subsidy that will enable her to prevent complete collapse in her zone. She seeks ten billions in reparations, or the Ruhr, or a ten-billion dollar loan, or an international loan agreement between Russian satellite states and America that can subsidize her permanent deficit economies in Eastern Europe.

The bi-zonal agreement between the United States and Britain is nothing but a recognition of the fact that both of these zones are permanent deficit economic liabilities which will destroy England and drain our own resources unless immediate steps are taken. The agreement provides that we will underwrite the liabilities of the British Zone even if it means lowering the starvation standards in our own. Neither zone can be self-sufficient, nor can they be self-sufficient when combined. Actually we have only made bad matters worse by continuing to entangle ourselves in makeshift international agreements which tie our own hands so far as independent action is concerned and yet compel us to foot the bills.

I am convinced that we are already starting to withdraw from Germany. General Clay's new policy will result in the withdrawal of the American Army, turn the responsibility for the American zone over to the newly elected Landeraats, and substitute a constabulary type of police force for the occupation forces. (It will not be long before these new forces start including former German soldiers.) But at the same time, and partly as a result of this change in policy, the British are increasing military controls. Just how our own government expects to raise standards by forcing a bankrupt, impotent and completely quarantined German civilian administration to cooperate with a bankrupt British military occupational force and prevent eventual chaos is a matter which officials in Washington will not even discuss!

France's only concern now is to assure her uncontested annexation of the Saar, since this will go on the credit, not the debit side, of her economic ledger.

The Effects of Starvation

These are the only conclusions that can be drawn from the situation created by the policies we have pursued. One has only to travel through these three zones to see the effects of mass starvation on the people. Eighty-five per cent of the children in the Saar are suffering from what is politely termed undernourishment. The Germans in the French zone receive no more than 1,000 calories and in many places, such as the Black Forest, not more than 800. Inhabitants of the British zone have been getting 1,200 calories or less. The miners in the Ruhr are in rebellion since they are physically unable to work and still save most of their 3,000-calorie diet for their families. They are now taking four and five days a week off to search for food, going even as far as lower Bavaria. The British have thrown a police cordon around the Ruhr and remove black market items from anyone leaving or entering.

The diet in the American zone is recorded in the now famous "Gold Fish Bowl Room" in Stuttgart where 1,750 is the maximum and 1,450 the minimum even with additional allowances made for black market rations.

The American authorities admit that the maximum indigenous agricultural capacity of the American zone cannot possibly, even under the most favorable conditions, provide more than an average of 1,000 calories per person. The downward spiral of no fertilizer, no farm equipment, no new seeds for even the potato crop, the

* Albion Beverage is an FOR member with the National Council for the Prevention of War in Washington, D. C. He has just returned from a month's stay in Germany, sponsored by the International FOR.

Sentence of Death

Dr. R———, one of Europe's outstanding physiologists, told me that it is universally recognized that life cannot be maintained on 1,500 calories, and how life in Germany has degenerated into a mad struggle to get hold of the additional calories necessary to stay alive. "Economists," he said, "know nothing of physiology, and if they are placed in charge of the peace settlement their decisions will become a sentence of death on millions of human beings."

liquidation of the dairy herds which will further reduce Germany's potential output of meat and fats and milk, and the deteriorating condition of the workmen and farmers and the war-impoverished soil all make the crop prospects for next Fall in all zones slimmer and slimmer.

Add to this picture the story of the disastrous consequences of our other policies in Germany, and the picture becomes even more desperate. Our denazification directives, including the Nuremberg trials, have left the German people with no legal security whatever. They are now saying, "It will some day be a badge of honor to have served in an American concentration camp." Others say, "The German democracy of today will become the political crime of tomorrow." Their political apathy is only the expression of a sharpening political acumen.

A Source of Bitterness

This destruction of German law and jurisprudence has caused as much bitterness among the Germans as the lack of food. General McNarney's grant of amnesty to 800,000 was not the fruit of a generous heart, but was forced out of him for the sake of continued order and security for the military forces. Even while we continue these trials, the top-ranking Nazi industrialists and scientists have become the spoils of war most sought after by the four powers. Russia is removing them, and not always against their will. Good jobs, food and the semblance of security are available to them in Russia. England does not recognize the results of our denazification findings, and we do not recognize hers. France is offering French citizenship to "big-shot Nazis," and while I was in Frankfurt I was told of six high-ranking Nazis who had just been flown to the United States while their families had been granted special quarters and special rations—a special citizen status if you will—in Germany.

Our denazification orders and directives are never final in themselves. The head of the Chamber of Commerce in one of the largest cities in the American zone has been denazified six times even though he had been held in solitary confinement by Hitler for the six years before the war's end. The deindustrialization directives have placed all German industry in the British zone and all but one concern in the American zone on the reparations list.

The question of food and security is aggravated by our approach to the displaced persons and expellees, by which we are sowing permanent bitterness, hatred, intrigue and crime, yet we do not even permit the American Red Cross to succour these people! Indeed, the political use made of the American Red Cross during the last year and a half ought to make us all blush with shame! I talked with one doctor from the Sudetenland who had been shoved into the American zone along with twenty-eight hundred displaced persons, and settled in deserted buildings and unheated stone breweries. He has been taking care of these people ever since. I asked him how much help he had received from the American Red Cross during the last year. He said the Military gave him some vaccine to help fight a typhoid epidemic that had broken out. Upon my insistence he shrugged his shoulders and answered my initial question. "The Red Cross has permitted me to use the used coffee grounds from which they had made coffee for the American soldiers. They let me do this on three occasions." Meanwhile he has no bandages, no sheets, no stethoscope, no medicines except some sulfa compounds and an ersatz ether!

Inhuman Conditions for DP's

We would not keep pigs living under the conditions imposed on these people. Cold, starving, sick, hopeless and unwanted, these people who are FolksDeutsche in language only, are actually Rumanian or Czechoslovakian or Hungarian citizens of hundreds of years ancestry, torn up by their roots and thrown into a living hell. But the American Red Cross cannot minister to them even when they are dying!

In the American zone our authorities try to bribe displaced persons into returning to their own countries by taking them through a long hall where tables have been covered with a six-weeks ration display including some additional tempting items. "All these will be yours if you will only be repatriated," they are told. With UNRRA coming to an end and with dissatisfaction rising on every side, these miserable people do not know what to do. Many have accepted these bribes and then returned by devious routes across the mountains back

"The Problems I Knew . . ."

A major in charge of a prison camp was a rare bright spot in a gloomy picture. He has built a small and wonderfully organized community out of nothing and only after a bitter fight with opposition and inertia. He has improvised delousing units, small nurseries and special facilities for the aged, and a movie theatre in an old washhouse. One large building is entirely empty except for walls and ceilings literally covered with thousands and thousands of pictures, photographs, letters and tragic appeals for missing persons. . . . He said "This makes my seventh Christmas in Germany. I was here for five years as a prisoner of war myself and I just made up my mind that when the war was over here is the place where I could do the most good, for these were the problems I knew most about."

The major did tell me what a magnificent job the Salvation Army was doing to help in the camp. He added that one item of clothing desperately needed was trousers. Anything else in men's clothing also would be only too gratefully received.

into the British or American zones, having consumed or sold their rations in the black market.

In the British zone these displaced persons have now been reduced to the general ration level of the Germans and have been given an ultimatum to get out or to accept German citizenship.

But the plight of these people has been nothing compared to the suffering of the millions of expellees, among whom are hundreds of thousands who are not Germans at all. One cannot imagine the degradation and brutality of their lot. Today disinherited peoples roam Germany and Europe almost at will, back and forth across boundaries artificial and real, defying edicts and directives and police systems and starvation and death itself! We have aggravated this misery by being a party to persecution of FolksDeutsche all over the world. They have been arrested and sent back from Turkey, Spain, Switzerland, the Argentine, China, and the United States, torn from their families and possessions. Their wealth confiscated, they have been sentenced without any of the safeguards of the due processes of law, and in defiance of all of our own traditional principles of justice. We continue to deliver these people into the hands of the Russians, bringing them back even from India!

An even worse fate has been the lot of the German prisoners of war. I talked personally with some of the 120 prisoners who had crossed the border two days before Christmas. They had been working in the Russian coal and salt mines for eighteen months and had been returned only after they became too weak to work. Only the sick are thus privileged. One cannot find much assurance of the restoration of any kind of international law or standards of human decency when confronted with these grim spectacles, human wrecks who have been treated worse than animals—and there are three or four millions more of them.

Treatment of such men by the French has been little better. The United States turned over to the French almost 700,000 who were put to forced labor in the mines and fields. I have seen the documented medical records of thousands of these same prisoners who were starved by the French and then delivered to the Americans in hospital trains to be rehabilitated! This traffic in human misery gives the lie to all the noble professions of high idealism and respect for human rights which fill the newspapers.

Not Even a Stethoscope

Dr. F——— in the American zone, is in charge of 2,800 expellees and has been doing heroic work under the most impossible conditions. He needs all kinds of medicines, bedding, clothing, vitamins and items such as salversan and insulin. He told me that the kind of insulin most helpful was the zinc protomine insulin which can be purchased in Denmark, the United States and Switzerland. One of the most desperately needed items in Europe is medical instruments. He has not even a stethoscope. A collection of used medical instruments placed in the hands of the Quakers or of the German Hilfswerk would be one of the greatest contributions that could be made to relieve human suffering.

Of Peace and Plaster

WALLACE HAMILTON

YOU'VE WALKED along the street since you could walk at all. Far back in your memory, you see the big house that stood at the corner. It was torn down to make way for the new bank building next to the Methodist church. You've watched the street lined with fat little shops and markets, decked with garish movie houses.

That street was public home. You saw the predatory faces of women shopping, the old men standing in the doorway, and clusters of children playing. Along the street there were also glass-encased icons, the store-window mannikins. If everyone was beautiful, if everyone had a lot of money and new clothes to wear, they'd look like the icons. The Ideal Man stared out of the glass, sightlessly, and The Ideal Woman stood beside him in a chic silk dress.

Sure. In some twist of thought, in some distant place, you could look back and see the whole street as a fleck in a convulsed and shuddering turmoil. In theory the street was a complex of cancerous symptoms. But when you were there and part of it, saw its casual leisure on a summer night, saw the easy flow of human patterns, the theory, you were sure, was false. Like Veblen, mystified by capitalism, you muttered, "It works."

The street was strange in wartime, with its alien posters and sharp details, uniforms, ration stamps, honor rolls, and the piety of war bond sales. The substance that held you in the pattern of the street strained and wrenched. But the street was still peculiarly your home. You were the logical opposite, the other side of the nickel.

Why is the street so foreign now? No longer home? Flashes, perhaps. Double exposures in the mind. For the town cop—a booted figure in a sleek black uniform. For the Methodist church—a blasted ruin. For school-children—a wolfpack of scavenger brats. The front window of the bakery smashed with a brick. Nothing on the shelves.

The street's a weird place, a grotesque that's flimsy to the touch. The buildings are made of gingerbread and the windows of rock candy. On the branches of the trees are bells that tinkle in the breeze.

You stand on a corner watching people go by. The women all wear chic silk frocks. Smiles are painted on their faces, or drooping lids of boredom. Their heels click hard upon the pavement. The men wear tweeds and gabardines that match their ruddy flesh color. But they walk awkwardly, stiff-limbed, and their eyes do not move.

You stand on the corner and twist the flesh of your hand, rub your chin and cheek that the pink plaster will flake off, will not form too quickly and dry hard.

News from the Peace Front

Mathematician Rebels Against 'Irresponsible Militarists'

Norbert Wiener, professor of mathematics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has refused to assist the research staff of an aircraft corporation in obtaining a copy of a paper he wrote for the National Defense Research Committee during the war.

While the paper is now the property of the government, it is out of print, and may be obtained only with difficulty. This fact prompted Professor Wiener to write a letter containing his views to the aircraft corporation. The entire letter appeared in the December 1946 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*. Excerpts appear below:

"The comity of scholars has made it a custom to furnish scientific information to any person seriously seeking it. However, the policy of the government itself in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has made it clear that to provide scientific information is not a necessarily innocent act, and may entail the gravest consequences.

"I am acting as the censor of my own ideas, and it may sound arbitrary, but the experience of the scientists who have worked on the atomic bomb has indicated that in any investigation of this kind the scientist ends by putting unlimited powers in the hands of the people whom he is least inclined to trust with their use.

"The practical use of guided missiles can only be to kill foreign civilians indiscriminately, and it furnishes no protection whatsoever to civilians in this country.

"If I do not desire to participate in the bombing or poisoning of defenseless peoples—and I most certainly do not—I must take a serious responsibility as to those to whom I disclose my scientific ideas. Since it is obvious that with sufficient effort you can obtain my material, I can only rejoice at the fact that it is not readily available, inasmuch as it gives me the opportunity to raise this serious moral issue.

"I do not expect to publish any future work of mine which may do damage in the hands of irresponsible militarists."

CO interne desires home commuting distance from Bronx for wife and child. Start July 1, 1947. Wife willing to do light housework. Write to: Charles R. Swift, III, 619 Kater Street, Philadelphia 47, Pa.

Scientists' Pre-Hiroshima Plea for Caution Revealed

A group of atomic scientists sent an urgent plea to the Secretary of War six days before the atomic bomb was tested in New Mexico, urging the government to refrain from using the bomb on Japanese cities without warning. The text of the plea, which had been a matter of rumor and speculation for almost two years, was made public by the *Baltimore Sun* in its issue of February 2.

The scientists, already apprehensive of the devastating effects of their demonic invention on the future of the world, sent to the War Department all the arguments used subsequently in their efforts to persuade the nations to outlaw atomic warfare.

Pointing out that the United States possessed no "secret" that could not be penetrated by the nuclear scientists of half a dozen nations within a few years, the scientists warned that the act of using the bomb on Japanese cities would "precipitate" an atomic arms race. "It may be very difficult," they wrote, "to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a new weapon, as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a thousand times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement."

The scientists suggested that the government give a demonstration of the bomb "on the desert or a barren island," before the representatives of the United Nations. The bomb might subsequently be used against Japan, they said, with the sanction of the United Nations, if a preliminary ultimatum to Japan had not resulted in surrender.

"This may sound fantastic," they wrote, "but in nuclear weapons we have something entirely new in order of magnitude of destructive power, and if we want to capitalize fully on the advantage their possession gives us, we must use new and imaginative methods."

A. J. Muste begins a page of comment next month.

Mother of Dead Hero Asks Amnesty for COs

When Rachel M. Jaques of Susanville, Calif., received her dead son's second Purple Heart decoration, she wrote President Truman a letter:

"I just received the second Purple Heart certificate and presidential accolade, with corrected date of death of my son, First Lt. Chester D. Jaques, who as your noble words say, 'died that freedom might live and grow and increase its blessings,' and you add 'freedom lives.'

"I ask if you really mean and believe those words when you are still keeping peace-loving men in prison fifteen months after V-J Day, when other countries have granted amnesty to their political prisoners and other presidents in the past have granted amnesty to prisoners such as COs?

"Why cannot you do the same and show that you really mean those words about freedom and show a worthy memorial to keep faith with those who gave their lives that freedom might live?"

* * *

The New York Times, whose slogan is "All the News That's Fit to Print," failed to quote any of Pearl Buck's speech in its story on the dinner for Nobel peace prize winners.

Miss Buck, a well-known author and Nobel laureate in literature, was chairman of the dinner, but her speech was largely devoted to urging freedom for imprisoned conscientious objectors. She pointed out that amnesty has been granted by the United States in Germany and Japan to men who actually took part in the shooting war.

Mails Opened to Germany and Japan

The War Department has announced that German nationals and institutions in the United States occupation zone would be permitted to receive small packages of printed matter by mail beginning Feb. 4.

A list of the enclosed publications must be attached to the outside wrapper. The size of each package is limited to four pounds, six ounces.

First class mail service to Japan, including business communications of a non-transactional nature, was resumed in mid-January for the first time since the war. Similar business communications may now be exchanged with Germany also. Personal and non-commercial mail service was resumed to Germany April 1.

Bayard Rustin Sits Out Discrimination in Hotel

Bayard Rustin, well-known FOR interracial worker, obtained a hotel room as a result of his all night "sit down and wait" technique in a St. Paul, Minnesota, hotel lobby. A room had been reserved for him by Russell J. Compton, professor of religion at Hamline University, but when Rustin appeared to claim the reservation, the clerk told him that no more rooms were available. Suspecting discrimination, he took a seat in the lobby and watched while three other persons (white) were given rooms.

Informed of the non-violent struggle, other local FOR leaders and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People joined Rustin in his demonstration. They sat quietly in the lobby all night, and were joined in the early morning by Dean M. A. Morrill of Hamline, who told the hotel manager that when a guest of the university had to sit up all night, the least the guest's friends could do was to sit up with him. After that the hotel yielded, assigned Rustin to a nice room, and treated him well in every way.

Rustin, field secretary for the FOR Racial and Industrial Department and secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), decided against filing a discrimination suit and feels the case is of importance only because the white persons of the community supported him. His experience in the hotel provided firsthand information for his talks before several groups. These included the Minneapolis NAACP, Hamline University, the St. Paul YMCA, Macalester College, and Gustavus Adolphus College.

Finlay Leaves FOR

J. Elliott Finlay, co-secretary of the FOR Literature Department and managing editor of FELLOWSHIP *since the spring of 1944, has resigned these positions to take the post of editor of young people's publications with the Congregational Christian Churches. His connection with the FOR terminated the end of February. His new work will take him to Boston.*

Mr. Finlay came to the Fellowship two months before Alfred Hassler, then managing editor, was sent to prison, and was called on immediately to take charge of a rapidly expanding program of literature production and distribution. During the almost three years since then he has given valuable service to the FOR, and will be greatly missed in the future. His co-workers wish him Godspeed in his new work.

Interracial Group Plan Trip, Training Project

An interracial group of FOR members will travel through the South this Spring to meet engagements before college, church, and community groups. In traveling, the group will not recognize Jim Crow laws or rulings. It will experiment with techniques for handling the conflict situations that are expected to arise. Any difficulties will be reported and incorporated in the discussions of nonviolent techniques and their value in dealing with the race problem. Arrangements for the trip are being made by George Houser and Bayard Rustin, FOR interracial secretaries.

In July the Racial and Industrial Department of FOR will hold its interracial action and training project in Washington, D. C., with the cooperation of the local FOR group and the Committee for Racial Democracy. George Houser and Bayard Rustin will be the co-directors of the institute. The cost to each participant is roughly estimated at $60, with scholarship aid available when needed. National leaders in the field of race relations will conduct classes on problems of race tensions and techniques for combating them.

Austrian Pacifist Opposes New Army for Country

Prof. Johannes Ude of the Austrian Peace Society has called its members to unite to combat the rise of militarism in Austria. His action was prompted by an announcement of Austria's Chancellor that again Austria must raise her own fighting forces.

Fellowship Closes Biggest Year with Balance

Fellowship members and friends contributed $114,928 to the national work of the FOR during the year 1946, a final report to the Executive Committee revealed. Although mounting costs had confronted the organization with an alarming deficit in the early Fall, the end of the year saw all bills paid (except for one item of 24c) and a balance remaining of $1620.90. However, H. F. Hancox, membership and finance secretary, pointed out that it had been necessary to liquidate the organization's reserve fund of about $11,000 in order to achieve this result.

Another high spot of the annual report revealed that extra emphasis on the Peace Roll Call in 1946 had resulted in net receipts of $8,910 from that source as compared with $4,017 the preceding year.

Receipts from literature operations, apart from FELLOWSHIP subscriptions, amounted to $18,466. Including the publication of FELLOWSHIP and free promotional materials, literature operations cost the FOR a subsidy of $8,181. Included in literature expenses was $1,000 turned over to the War Victims Fund as proceeds from the sale of 30,000 FOR Christmas cards.

Total expenditures by the War Victims Fund for 1946—which is not included in the regular budget—amounted to $8,801.

Holmes Appointed Tagore Memorial Lecturer

John Haynes Holmes has been appointed as the Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Lecturer to Indian universities for the academic year 1947-48 by the Watumull Foundation of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, Calif.

His lectures in India will be arranged in collaboration with Benares Hindu University and the Inter-University Board. He was selected because of his service in the cause of freedom for India and his work for better understanding between the United States and India.

Dr. Holmes is minister of the Community Church, New York, a member of FOR, and writer of "From My Standpoint," a page appearing regularly in FELLOWSHIP. On February 10 the Community Church celebrated his fortieth anniversary as minister.

Jottings

Reports on the turning in of draft cards by two hundred COs on February 12 were not available when we went to press. Details will appear next month.

* * *

Jehovah's Witnesses will begin construction of a ten-story addition to Bethel Home, its national headquarters at 122-124 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y. Plans are also under way for expanding the sect's factory, also in Brooklyn, where the *Watchtower* and other publications are printed.

* * *

The Racial and Industrial Department of FOR will publish an occasional news-bulletin and memorandum on current projects. Those who wish to be on the mailing list may write to George M. Houser, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

* * *

Ralph Templin, FOR member, has joined the Staff of Community Service, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio. He is available for conference leadership and consultation.

* * *

A number of FOR leaders are participating in "Religion and Society" classes sponsored by the Socialist Party in New York. They include A. J. Muste, "Religion and World Brotherhood"; George Houser, "Economics and Racial and Religious Conflict"; Rabbi Isidor Hoffman (with Rev. David Cory), "Misunderstandings Between Socialism and Religion"; and Charlotte Bentley, "Social Action in Church or Synagogue."

Sessions are held every Tuesday evening from seven until eight-thirty in the Men's Grill of the Coop Cafeteria, 54 Irving Place, New York. The series is sponsored by the Religious Work Committee, Socialist Party, 303 Fourth Ave., New York City.

* * *

The Glendora Strikers Defense Committee reports that the trial of Atherton and Behre has been postponed until March 11 and for the other fifty-six men, until March 18 due to the illness of the judge.

WESTTOWN SCHOOL

Quaker, coeducational, near Philadelphia, country, boarding and day, college preparatory enriched by music, drama, art, home economics, shop, agriculture, work program, and sports. Simple, healthful living and constructive community activities on 600-acre farm with orchards, dairy, woodlots, and lake.

James F. Walker, Principal, Westtown, Pa.

The British Central Board for Conscientious Objectors announced that December 1946 marked the final issue of its *Bulletin,* published throughout the war. Horace B. Pointing writes, "Conscription is to go on, the *Bulletin* is to end. There seems to be something wrong in this contrast."

* * *

With the January, 1947, issue the British FOR publication, *The Christian Pacifist,* changed its name to *Reconciliation.*

* * *

The March issue of *Coronet* includes an article about Reconciliation Trips, Inc., conducted in New York City by FOR-member Clarence V. Howell. Title of the article is *Shock Treatment for Intolerance.*

* * *

The Gallup Poll has asked American voters the following question: "During the war some conscientious objectors were sent to prison for refusing to serve in any way in the armed forces. Do you think these men should now be let out of prison?"

The results: Yes 69%; No 23%; No opinion 8%.

* * *

A study comparing CARE's ten-in-one army surplus food packages with commercial packages reveals that the average commercial package costs ninety-five cents per pound of food against CARE's thirty-five cents, and 1700 calories per dollar against CARE's 4100. Most of the commercial packages include luxury items and are not well balanced nutritionally.

* * *

Two of the first four American students to go from the United States to the new Ecumenical Institute at Celigny (near Geneva) are FOR members. They are Mr. and Mrs. William Hawley Clark of Flint, Mich. The other two American participants are Pitt Sawyer Milland of Cambridge, Mass., and Virginia Chandler Markham of Oconomowoc, Wis. This institute for theological students is under the auspices of the World Council of Churches.

* * *

FOR's executive committee issued a statement in the form of a letter to the President protesting the appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State and deploring the fact that not a single voice was raised in the Senate against appointing a military man.

Lenten Reading

Significant books and pamphlets for study and devotional reading

Testament of Devotion
Thomas Kelley's five devotional essays both delight and inspire. Harper. 1.00

Practice of the Presence of God
A collection of the conversations and letters of Brother Lawrence. Revell. .25

The Will of God for These Days
Kirby Page applies Christianity to personal and international affairs. 1.00

Reality of the Spiritual World
Thomas Kelley delivered these lectures at Pendle Hill. .25

The Eternal Gospel
Gerald Heard discusses the basis of all great religions. Harper. 2.00

There Is a Spirit
Kenneth E. Boulding's sonnets on the last words of James Nayler. Fellowship. 1.00

The Perennial Philosophy
Aldous Huxley finds a common denominator of a faith for today. Harper. 3.00

The Light Is Still Shining
Kirby Page presents thirty complete services for worship. .50

Training for the Life of the Spirit
Guides for those who would train the spirit as well as mind and body. Harper. Nos. 1 and 2, each .25

The Creed of Christ
Gerald Heard presents a penetrating analysis of the Lord's Prayer. Harper. 1.50

The Code of Christ
Gerald Heard interprets the Beatitudes and their present application. Harper. 1.50

With the Master
Philippe Vernier's meditations, written during imprisonment in France. Fellowship. 1.25

Preface to Prayer
The technique of prayer as a social and personal integrating force. By Gerald Heard. Harper. 2.00

A Guide to True Peace
Compiled from the writings of Fenelon, Mme. Guyon, and Molinos. 1.00

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Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Fair-Weather Pacifists?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the past two or three months I have been very conscious of the attitude of various writers in **Fellowship** to what is called the "fair-weather" pacifist. The impression was given by John Haynes Holmes in one of his columns, and by George W. Hartmann in an article, that all those who mistakenly support a war and later repent can be nothing but "fair-weather" pacifists. True, they leave the door to the inner sanctum of pacifism ajar to these unfortunates, but the doorkeeper, one is led to believe, is very suspicious. These writers welcome the support of ex-warriors and scientists, but they do not seem to be very thoroughly convinced that a man who has made an error can repent that error and perhaps turn out to be a better pacifist than they. Instead of giving a man the benefit of the doubt and hoping for the best, Prof. Hartmann says "Beware the scientists bearing olive branches." Brother! Any atomic scientist that waves an olive branch in my face is not going to be "bewared." I'm going to say, "You're in!" Even if it turns out that my scientist is a fair-weather scientist, he will have had at least a brief influence on those who believe in science more than in anything else.

Furthermore, there's a personal element involved here. According to the view of Prof. Hartmann, I have committed the heinous crime of being an officer in the U. S. Army in the past war—and I agree with him—but I don't like his cold and suspicious eye on me. For all he knows, I'm a better pacifist than he **because** I was a criminal. A convert is often more zealous than one suckled on a cause.

You, Prof. Hartmann, and many other pacifists of long standing are the ninety-nine lambs. Have you no concern for the lost one who would like to be welcomed to the fold?

Thomas F. Hoult,
El Monte, Calif.

[The editors asked Dr. Holmes and Prof. Hartmann to comment briefly on Mr. Hoult's letter. Their replies follow.]

Mr. Hoult is right. Sincere repentance should always be recognized and reverenced. "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance." I feel this truth so intensely that I even balk at the word "sinner." For the persons for whom Mr. Hoult pleads are really not sinners, but just those who have made an honest mistake, or did not see the larger vision and the deeper truth all at once.

In speaking of "fair-weather pacifists" I have in mind not so much the person who sees the light and repents his earlier error, but rather those persons who are always backing and filling on this great question of pacifism. In peacetime they are pacifists; then a war comes along and they find a reason for supporting it; then at the end of the war they become pacifists again; only to revert with the next war. It is this shifting back and forth, this determining of inward convictions by outward conditions, which is the real sin. I have no use for such variationalists, nor, I am sure, has Mr. Hoult.

John Haynes Holmes

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

I agree so heartily with the spirit of Mr. Hoult's remarks that I am puzzled as to what it was that led him to attribute to me a belief that pacifists should deny ex-"militarists" the warmth and affection to which they are entitled. Mr. Hoult is right in suggesting that in any area of social life those who once defiled themselves with pitch—**and now know it**—may acquire a depth of conviction about such issues exceeding that prevalent among the "uncontaminated," who too frequently are merely the "inexperienced."

However, temporary anti-war moods among chastened nationalists or Communist fellow-travelers must not be confused with **absolute rejection of all war.** When the Einstein Committee of Atomic Scientists (the most socially-conscious of the lot, apparently) declares "There is no solution except . . . ultimately the elimination of war," I rejoice to have some new-found buddies —until I gaze again at that Philadelphia lawyer's escape word "ultimately." Instead of a simple and steadfast refusal to assist any warmaking governments in killing other people, these intellectuals merely reaffirm what plenty of low IQ's knew years ago. As before, such folks continue to favor peace tomorrow—never peace **now.**

Are these not good factual reasons for a little skepticism—as well as some mild impatience with the sluggishness even favored groups exhibit in acquiring right attitudes and in acting upon them? Whenever I hear some Ph.D. privately lament the part he played during the great madness, my delight at this evidence of mental and moral growth is somewhat diminished by the twin thoughts "Isn't it about time?" and "Couldn't you make it a little stronger?"

George W. Hartmann

Scientists and the Bomb

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I had the good fortune to attend the meeting of the emergency committee of atomic scientists at Princeton, N. J., last November. For me its value came through being with men who had gone through a change resembling conversion and who were living in a new age. "Hiroshima made preachers out of us, then politicians," one of them said.

The peril of atomic energy was stressed. Dr. Philip Morrison of Cornell spoke with deep feeling of what happens when all the defenses of a living organism like a city are destroyed at one stroke. It is the "cheapest way of killing children," he said.

These few facts were accepted by all scientists:

1. Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large numbers. They will become more destructive.
2. No military defense—none to be expected.
3. No secret.
4. Preparedness against atomic war is futile, and if attempted will ruin the structure of our social order.
5. If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used and they will surely destroy our civilization.
6. There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy, and ultimately the elimination of war.

During the discussions, Dr. Albert Einstein made the following statement: "Making peace is a psychological problem. But you have this dilemma: You want to make peace and you want to prepare for war. You cannot serve these two masters. You cannot prepare for peace and for war at the same time. It is psychologically impossible."

Helen Beardsley,
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In spite of what Prof. Hartmann says, there is a great deal of soul-searching among scientists today. They see, as some of us have seen for many years, that they must take responsibility for the results of their work. There is an amazing advance in their social-mindedness, especially among the young physicists.

To blame Einstein and the physicists for the atomic bomb seems to be absurd. The blame rests, not with knowledge, but with those who applied it wrongly; not with the scientists, but with the government who put them to work on the bomb, and on Truman, who against their advice, chose to regard it as just another weapon. Given the war situation, they were driven at the time by the sickening fear that Germany would get there first. Many of the younger ones worked under such conditions of secrecy that they did not even know what they were working on. It is because I know that scientists are the most determined peace group in the world today that I venture this plea for better understanding of them and their problems.

Ethel M. Luce Clausen,
Pittsford, N. Y.

[Editor's Note: Former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson in the February issue of **Harper's** reveals that the decision to use the atomic bomb had the whole-hearted support of seven of the country's top scientists who had served as members of advisory committees to determine policy.

The scientists on the advisory committees included three Nobel prize winners, three presidents of universities, and the director of the atomic bomb development laboratory at Los Alamos, N. Mex. They were Drs. Vannevar Bush, James Bryant Conant, Karl T. Compton, Arthur H. Compton, Ernest O. Lawrence, and Professors Enrico Fermi and J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Mr. Stimson quotes from a report by the scientific panel, composed of A. H. Compton, Fermi, Lawrence, and Oppenheimer. "The opinions of our scientific colleagues on the initial use of these weapons are not unanimous; they range from the proposal of purely technical demonstration to that of a military application best designed to produce surrender. We find ourselves closer to these latter views; we can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use."

On June 1, 1945 the following was unanimously adopted: The atom bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible; it should be used on a dual target—that is, a military installation or war plant surrounded by or adjacent to houses and other buildings most susceptible to damage, and it should be used without prior warning of the nature of the weapon.]

Pacifists and World Government

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I know of no intelligent proponent of world government possessing such scant imagination as to believe that world government will solve all our problems, or is itself the final goal. We are far from conceiving the democratic world law for which we plead as the "magic wand" some pacifist friends accuse us of deifying. We need "the true revolution" and the "spiritual climate" in the fine phrase of A. J. Muste, but why isn't the struggle for world government "a true revolutionary act," an element of the "spiritual climate"?

If we world government people stress the political aspect more than some pacifists like, it is because we feel that it has not been clearly envisaged in the past. We hold that the most immediate need of us all, brown, yellow, and white—failing presumptive all-out global pacifism—is to delegate to safe and democratic hands the unlimited national sovereignty which in the name of national security has twice in our generation flung us over the edge.

Of course, my co-pacifist, M. Palmer Bryant, will already have pounced on my rash assumption of "safe and democratic" hands in that world legislature. Well, eternal vigilance alone can guarantee them, either in Mississippi or under world government. But I hold that with the perilous iniquity of unlimited external sovereignty once removed, we shall have accomplished a large part of our "true revolution." For world government, at its potential best, will itself be an abolition of the armament and conscription now so tragically identified by national states as "security." And this is precisely what most pacifist opponents of world government carelessly—or stubbornly—fail to grasp.

Fellow pacifists, this is no "bandwagon." Come over into Macedonia and help us!

Tracy D. Mygatt,
New York, N. Y.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The writings of M. Palmer Bryant on world government perturb me. He makes it look as though it were a case of world government versus individual regeneration.

Because the conflict between nation-states is the most important problem which mankind collectively faces today, federal world government is the minimal framework within which positive, dynamic peace will be afforded the opportunity to become the bulwark of human existence.

We are working against time. If individual regeneration can save man from himself in a few short years, well and good. I don't think it can, as much as I myself believe in "the true revolution." Both federal world government and the greater profundity of individual regeneration must have ardent advocates, but since positive peace is the goal of both, they must work hand in hand. Workers for peace must present a united front. At this crucial stage back-biting is deadly.

In the brief time left to us before the path to war and total destruction is irrevocably crystallized, the salvation of the individual must become a political (as well as religious) reality. It can only become a political reality by working on all levels and in all areas for federal world government in our time.

Phillips Ruopp,
New York, N. Y.

Contribution Note

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am doubling my contribution this year with the hope that the shutdown of certain regional offices may be shortened. I am also redoubling this year's contributions with FELLOWSHIP in mind, hoping to see it grow to magazine stand proportions.

William C. Helm,
Carleton, Mich.

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